2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown. A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

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Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

/135 cont./

573 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [854] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother [855] nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
431 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
[411] /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the [421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
602 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Calabash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature, ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive housekeeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments, or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut. Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human